Whites will go to the white clouds, forever floating between heaven and earth. While the Cayapa believe that they are a moral people, probably everyone has sinned a little and so after death every Cayapa soul is scourged in hell. Periodically the soul is weighed and when the scale tips in favor of the soul over its sins, it goes to heaven.

The matter of sin and sex so concern the Cayapa that when they were presented by the first missionaries with the account of Adam and Eve, they transformed it by saying that in the beginning Jesus created two men and two women. The women were not created from the ribs or any other part of the men's bodies, and so, everyone was properly nonrelated. From these four beings sprang the human race.

At irregular intervals, a priest comes up from Limones for Christmas or Easter. He holds a brief service, consecrates marriages, and baptizes children. The Cayapa are very much taken with Catholic imagery and the use of candles. As the writer once watched the priest perform a marriage at Punta Venado, there was a brief contest of wills. The Cayapa wedding party had

all lined up single file broadside to the altar. There were two bridal couples and the two sets of godparents, each couple clutching a lighted candle. The priest, an Italian, who had just arrived from missionary service in the Congo, told them that candles were not at all needed for the marriage service. The members of the wedding party looked somewhat discomfited, but they maintained their grips on the candles. The priest repeated his admonitions several times. There was no argument, but the Indians just stood there holding their candles in front of them. Finally, the priest, with a generous Italian shrug, said, "If you want to get married with candles, I'll marry you with candles, but you really don't need them." In a small way, Catholic flexibility had met Cayapa rigidity and the priest was beginning his accommodation.

Easter is the most important holiday for the Cayapa. The day before Easter week, people begin arriving at the ceremonial center and set up housekeeping. The following day, most of the people have arrived. There were no special services, and most of the day was spent in clearing the plaza. The /ũnʸi/ began the work of

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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clearing. He worked alone for perhaps two hours before he was joined unenthusiastically by eight other men. They all worked separately and at a considerable distance from each other. Other men made minor repairs to the church, and still others made small repairs to the houses surrounding the plaza. All of the houses were in very poor repair, but no one felt obliged to undertake the effort required to make really good repairs. The houses were only used during Easter and Christmas, and none of the inhabitants felt sorely pressed.

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The second day of Easter saw people busily engaged in building bamboo cross poles to which were fastened candles. That evening, about six, all of the fiesteros, dressed in their finery, formed a procession. A Negro carried a large statue of a saint in his arms at the head of the parade. Behind him, forming a straggling line, two and three abreast, came the Cayapa. Some men and women held candles in their hands, some men carried the large bamboo cross-poles with six to eight candles. Some carried the smaller statues of the saints. They walked around the church three times, and then entered. Groups of Negroes were present and they sang hymns in Spanish. The Cayapa like to have the

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Negroes present for Church services, because they like to hear them sing. One of the complaints voiced against the/ún^{y}i/ was that he had not invited enough Negro singers to the fiesta.

On Easter Sunday, there was a great deal of varied activity in all of the houses as the Cayapa prepared for the church activities. This meant that they put on their newest clothing, and young children were dressed in the kind of ornamentation ordinarily worn by women, they often had row upon row of beads and bangles hanging from the neck down to the waist. Around ten o'clock, the church bell rang, and people began drifting over to the church. The officials stood outside with their whips, and as people approached, they struck them several times across the buttocks. Some went into the church, where the chief stood in front of the altar. They bent forward and received the blows. Children were whipped also, but very lightly. Some of the officials went into each of the houses looking for stragglers. After all had been whipped, they whipped themselves and one of them whipped the chief. Only a few of the Negroes joined in the ritual, and, in these

instances, it was done with a joking air. There was some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, but it was restrained. As the official went about looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very early period.

In general, the description of a fiesta given by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The passion play described by Barrett was no longer being performed. In its place a group of fiesteros set up a marimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a small rancho between the church and the main house of the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they played with such gusto that sometime between one and two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently with all of these activities, the chief dispensed justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were engaged in, people drank, also passed out, woke up, and the band played on. This continued for six days and nights.

Christmas was similar, except that there were no nighttime processions around the church. Ideally, seven sponsors are chosen for the Christmas fiesta, and they are expected to supply rum, tobacco, and guarapo, and perfumed toilet water which is used to douse the fiesteros during the evening following the church services on the twenty-fifth. The families of the sponsors distribute the goods to all comers until the supply is exhausted. This is expensive, and the outlay in cash may run to over five hundred sucres. While it is said to be an honor to be a sponsor, no one apparently accepts the honor willingly. Sour corn meal is prepared several days before Christmas and mixed with water. This drink, called cangu is put in small canoe-like containers on the evening of the 25th. Ten to twelve containers are divided up and blessed by the chief who makes the sign of the cross. The drink is then carried around and people dip gourds of it and drink. During the Christmas fiesta, the chief wandered around for hours arguing with men who claimed that they were too busy or too poor to become a sponsor for the next Christmas fiesta. Finally, the chief lost his temper and

harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

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than as a personal phenomenon. That is, there are no family shrines within the home. Individuals do not pray. It is only on festive occasions when many families come together that the trappings of religion are brought forth. The statues of the saints will be displayed in a makeshift shrine within the home which is being used as the gathering place. Some candles are lit; the chief makes the sign of the cross, and the drinking begins. As it progresses, the saints will be turned to the wall "because they do not like to see so much drinking."

The ceremonial centers with their cemeteries, churches, and fiesta activities give the Cayapa a much needed sense of self-awareness and identity. If a priest is present, so much the better; if not, the Cayapa know that they are doing the right thing, that they are moral, and that they are Catholic.

Supernaturals. The Cayapa have a large inventory of spirits and devils (Barrett 1925:360-381). Two that are not mentioned by Barrett seem to reflect a feeling of fear on the part of the Cayapa toward the Negro: The first of these is fuende; he lives at the headwaters of